

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 ACDA-07 EURE-00  
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-----069427 151603Z /47

O R 151435Z JUL 77  
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INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
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AMCONSUL IZMIR  
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USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES  
EUCOM  
USCINCEUR  
CINCUSAFE  
USDOCOLANDSOUTHEAST IZMIR  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 5330

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, TU, CY, GR  
SUBJECT: SENATOR INAN ON GOVERNMENT FORMATION, CYPRUS,  
AND U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS

1. DCM AND POLCOUNSELOR JULY 15 CALLED ON SENATE FOREIGN  
RELATIONS CHAIRMAN KAMRAN INAN, WHO STANDS A GOOD CHANCE  
OF BECOMING FONMIN IF DEMIREL SUCCEEDS IN PUTTING TOGETHER  
A GOVERNMENT. INAN'S COMMENTS ON THE PROSPECTS FOR  
FORMING A GOVERNMENT, POSSIBLE CYPRUS POLICY AND U.S.-TURKISH  
RELATIONS DURING MORE THAN AN HOUR'S CONVERSATION ARE PULLED  
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TOGETHER AND SUMMARIZED BELOW.

2. GOVERNMENT FORMATION PROSPECTS: THE BASIC PROBLEM OF  
THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN DEMIREL AND HIS TWO PROSPECTIVE  
COALITION PARTNERS, NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY (NSP) CHAIRMAN  
ERBAKAN AND NATIONALIST ACTION PARTY (NAP) CHAIRMAN TURKES,  
INAN SAID, IS THAT ERBAKAN IS ASKING FOR A GREAT DEAL WHILE

DEMIREL'S JUSTICE PARTY (JP) EXECUTIVE BOARD IS UNWILLING TO ALLOW DEMIREL TO MAKE MANY CONCESSIONS TO ERBAKAN. ONE PARTICULAR STUMBLING BLOCK IS ERBAKAN'S INSISTENCE ON HAVING HIS PEOPLE GIVEN THE MINISTRIES OF EDUCATION AND INTERIOR. INAN BELIEVED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS TO BE HELD THIS EVENING, JULY 15, MIGHT BE DECISIVE AS REGARDS THE POSSIBILITY OF FORMING THE COALITION.

3. CYPRUS: EMBOFFS MENTIONED THAT A RECENT TERCUMAN EDITORIAL HAD URGED THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT, IF FORMED, MOVE QUICKLY TO DISPOSE OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IN ORDER TO SERVE TURKEY'S NATIONAL INTERESTS IN A SETTLEMENT, AND HAD RECOMMENDED INAN FOR THE JOB OF FONMIN ON THE GROUNDS THAT HE WAS YOUNG, VIGOROUS, AND ABLE TO CARRY OUT SUCH A POLICY. INAN CONFIRMED THAT IF HE WERE MADE FONMIN, HE WOULD INSIST ON BEING ABLE TO ACT VIGOROUSLY AND WITH THE SUPPORT OF HIS PRIMIN. HE ALSO SAID THAT HE WOULD CONSULT WITH THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (RPP) ON POLICY MATTERS, AND THAT IF HE WERE ABLE TO WIN THAT PARTY'S CONSENT, IT WOULD NOT MATTER IF ERBAKAN OPPOSED A POLICY. (PREVIOUSLY IN THE CONVERSATION, HOWEVER, INAN PREDICTED THAT A DEMIREL GOVERNMENT WOULD BE WEAK AND THEREFORE WOULD HAVE TO BE "STIFF AND HARD-LINE" ON FOREIGN POLICY. FURTHERMORE, HE PREDICTED, NO GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS IN CYPRUS "UNTIL THE AMERICAN EMBARGO IS LIFTED".) HE SAID THAT PROBABLY NO ACTION BY ANY GOVERNMENT WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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POSSIBLE DURING AUGUST, THE VACATION MONTH, BUT THAT A HIGH-LEVEL TURKISH-U.S. MEETING SHOULD BE HELD IN SEPTEMBER. PREFERABLY, THE TURKISH FONMIN OR PRIMIN SHOULD VISIT WASHINGTON FOR THIS MEETING AND SHOULD ALSO USE THE OCCASION TO SPEAK WITH CONGRESSMEN ALONG THE LINES THAT "WE WANT TO BE YOUR FRIENDS BUT WE NEED YOUR UNDERSTANDING." IN ADDITION, INAN CONFIRMED THAT HE REMAINED INTERESTED IN WORKING OUT SOME UNDERSTANDING FOR SIMULTANEOUS ACTION BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, UNDER WHICH TURKEY WOULD WORK ON A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE U.S. WORKED ON GETTING THE DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT (DCA) ENDORSED BY CONGRESS.

4. U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS: AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CONVERSATION, INAN PAINTED A DARK PICTURE OF WHAT THE FUTURE HELD IF THE U.S. CONTINUED ITS PRESSURES ON TURKEY, SAYING THAT THIS PICTURE REPRESENTED A COMPOSITE OF THE ATTITUDES HE FOUND AT THE UPPER LEVELS OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT. A CONTINUING PROBLEM, HE SAID, WAS THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ETHNIC GROUP POLITICS IN THE U.S. THE PRO-GREEK GROUPS IN THE U.S. WOULD CONTINUE CARRYING ON ANTI-TURKISH ACTIVITIES UNTIL MAKARIOS AND CARAMANLIS TURNED

THEM OFF. UNTIL THEY WERE TURNED OFF, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE  
FOR TURKS TO BELIEVE THAT THE GREEK SIDE WAS TRULY INTERESTED  
IN A SETTLEMENT. A SECOND MAJOR PROBLEM IS GREECE'S EXPANSION  
OF ITS AIR FORCE, WHICH HAD ALREADY OUT-STRIPPED TURKEY'S  
AIR FORCE INVENTORY IN UP-TO-DATE AIRCRAFT TYPES CAPABLE  
OF STRIKING AT LONG-RANGE, INCLUDING THE F-4, MIRAGE AND  
A-7. GREECE'S AIR FORCE BUILD-UP PERSUADED MANY HIGH LEVEL  
TURKS THAT GREECE MUST HAVE IN MIND CARRYING OUT A NO-WARNING  
STRIKE AGAINST TURKEY TO MAKE UP FOR GREECE'S HUMILIATION IN  
CYPRUS. MEANWHILE, THE U.S. IS COOPERATING WITH GREECE BY  
PROVIDING AIRCRAFT FOR THIS BUILD-UP. A THIRD PROBLEM  
IS THAT ATHENS HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO BECOME DISINVOLVED IN THE  
CYPRUS SETTLEMENT EFFORTS WHILE THE FULL WEIGHT OF U.S.  
PRESSURE REGARDING CYPRUS FALLS ON TURKEY. A FOURTH PROBLEM  
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IS THAT MANY PEOPLE IN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT BELIEVE THAT TURKEY  
HAS NO ALTERNATIVES TO ITS CURRENT ASSOCIATION WITH THE WEST.  
THE U.S. SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT IF TURKEY IS PUSHED TOO

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SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 ACDA-07 EURE-00  
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O R 151435Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8172  
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
AMCONSUL ADANA  
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL  
AMCONSUL IZMIR  
USMISSION NATO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES

EUCOM  
USCINCEUR  
CINCUSAFE  
USDOCOLANDSOUTHEAST IZMIR  
DIA WASHDC

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FAR, IT COULD BREAK ITS WESTERN CONNECTIONS, CHANGE TO AN AUTHORITARIAN SYSTEM, AND DISRUPT THE BALANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. TURKEY COULD EVEN GO TO THE POINT, HE SAID, OF TAKING OVER ALL OF CYPRUS PLUS TWO OR THREE GREEK ISLANDS. (TO MAKE SURE INAN HAD NO MISCONCEPTION REGARDING U.S. ATTITUDES ON THIS FINAL POINT, EMBOFFS MADE CLEAR THAT SUCH ACTION BY TURKEY WOULD BE REGARDED AS AGGRESSION AND COULD BY ITSELF RESULT IN TURKEY'S BEING EXPELLED FROM NATO. EMBOFFS NOTED THAT GREECE MIGHT CONSIDER THE LOSS OF CYPRUS AND TWO OR THREE ISLANDS AS A SMALL PRICE TO PAY FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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HAVING TURKEY OUT OF NATO AND THE REST OF THE NATO COUNTRIES UNITED IN SUPPORT OF GREECE AGAINST TURKEY. INAN CONFIRMED THAT HE REALIZED THAT THE PRICE TURKEY WOULD PAY WOULD BE EXTREMELY HIGH).

5. COMMENT: INAN GENERALLY DISCUSSES U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS IN GLOOMY TONES, AS THE REMARKS REPORTED IN PARA 4 ILLUSTRATE. WE HAVE USUALLY FOUND THAT THIS PRACTICE REPRESENTS A SORT OF BARGAINING POSITION WHICH COVERS A GENUINE AND WELL-ROOTED INTEREST IN PRESERVING TURKEY'S CLOSE TIES WITH THE WEST IN GENERAL AND THE U.S. IN PARTICULAR.  
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